

ther disseminated. In this light, therefore, I present his article, as follows:
THE CRY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

(By Anthony Cama)

This writer is proud, and truly honored to present a special writing, which erupted from the pen of the very wise and loved Cardinal Cushing in the August 1, 1964, issue of the Pilot. In this most perilous time of racial violence, when millions of American Negroes of all faiths are crying out their anguish and their pain for the rights of citizenship, justice, and human dignity, a brilliant light is emanating from this distinguished prince of the church.

ECHOES

This is the unshakable friend of the late beloved and martyred President John F. Kennedy. Every time that the cardinal utters sentences pertaining to theinalienable rights of all people and the high dedication and consecration of men in trusted public office, one can close his eyes and hear the echoes of the brilliant speeches of our late President. A pious family man and a valiant crusader for racial justice Kennedy was the first Catholic Chief Executive of this mighty democratic Nation.

The Pilot is an excellent newspaper which reaches mostly Catholics, who get it at their churches and Holy Name Society meetings or through the mail. And the aggressive and active Sunday Post reaches thousands of readers of other faiths throughout many towns and communities. It is, therefore, the intent of this writer to extend the writing of the cardinal to our readers, because it is of the most vital importance in these tragic and tumultuous days of racial strife.

No true American can live in the presence of the Star-Spangled Banner and the all-embracing Statue of Liberty and deny the pleas and the urgent supplications of millions of American Negroes. No veteran of the last two wars and the sad stalemate in Korea can recite the Pledge of Allegiance in his veterans' assembly hall and not heed and feel the torture and torments of the black citizens, thousands of whom have served, fought, and died for their country.

No educator or teacher can enter the classroom and fulfill educational needs of young, innocent colored children if he or she has a twisted conscience and a prejudiced spirit. And no elected official, taking his oath of office, can serve conscientiously and honorably his constituents unless he fights for their right to vote and their inalienable rights as American citizens.

HIGHEST TREASON

The ones who have done so, those who have dared to take upon themselves a mantle of nazism and fascism are guilty of the highest treason against the United States. They are guilty of treason against the Bill of Rights and the constitutional laws of this democratic Republic.

And those ministers of the Gospel of all faiths who have dared to support and encourage discrimination in their very churches and have denied entry into their sacred edifices to the American Negro—they above all are guilty of the greatest sin against the Divine Creator, Father of all Humanity.

Today there is no retreat. Today there is no equivocation. Today there is no respite and no repose for America, and there will be blood and strife upon our American streets, in our American homes, and within our American churches until the degradation and suffering of the American Negro is wiped off the Stars and Stripes.

Thus today we present a dynamic statement from Cardinal Cushing. It follows:

"The last few days have opened up to public view the violence and bitterness which festers beneath the surface of our Nation. Not now merely in the cities and

towns of the Deep South, but in the core and the suburbs of the great northern urban centers, racial unrest has burst into fury with blood and death, plunder and lawlessness. No true citizen who cares for civil rights and a respect for the law can stand aloof; no true Christian who sees every man as his brother can turn away unmoved.

DAY OF ACCOUNTING

"Every thinking person knows that many wrongs have brought us to this day of accounting; the evils of many generations rise up to disturb our national peace and shake our personal complacency. It is time we were disturbed, it is time we were shaken. We have been content to do things the easy way, to console with soft words and promises, to temporize and be patient in the face of inexcusable social evils. The fact we must recognize, reluctantly or otherwise, is a simple one; we have sown in wickedness and we are shocked at the harvest.

"Once again I feel called upon to raise my voice in favor of those oppressed citizens of this land who have too long borne the cross of inequality and contempt, too long been the victims of a brother's exploitation, too long been left without hope for opportunity and progress. We have required a superhuman patience of the American Negro and, when this has proved too much for his tortured person, we have been dismayed because he has answered with an excess of agitation our longer excesses of neglect. The next move must be ours, not his, and it must be a move in favor of freedom, full freedom for his every right as a man and as a citizen.

"How else can he answer except in outrage the society that marks him as inferior to his fellowman, the society that denies him decent housing and a home for his children, the society that blocks his every opportunity for a better life, the society that strangles the hopes of his future even before they are born. We are the society and we have an ancient wrong in our hearts which shrieks to be righted, an ancient wound that can no longer go unhealed."

NO PART IMMUNE

"No part of America is immune from the racial virus in these days; our first concern, however, must be ourselves and the dispositions of our own hearts. If in any way, by word or deed, we have had a share in creating barriers between brothers, we must confess our guilt before the Lord, undo our wrongs, and pledge a better life. Even if we have stood idly by while evil grew among us, we must answer for our indolence before God calls us to His accounting. Not merely for what we have done, but for what we have left undone, we will all be judged.

"As one in spiritual authority, I summon before all others those who share with me the care of souls. I command and encourage the clergy who have involved themselves in the toils of the Negro and have made witness of their Christian faith. To those who have held back, issue again a call to action. Let no pulpit be silent, no wrong left uncondemned; let every altar be a place before which we dedicate ourselves anew to that brotherhood of redemption in which we were all born in the blood of Christ. In this hour, if the men of God are silent, the very stones will cry out.

"Those in public life, who hold responsibility for the order of society have a special burden. The social evils on which antagonisms grow must be rooted out, not merely by law but by the harder course of social change; those institutions that cannot or will not be cleansed must be replaced by a new order that is faithful to the dignity of man. Those who must keep the public order, we remind them that understanding and forbearance toward the troubled, especially in a time of strife and testing, will serve to make more compelling the just demands of the law for the good of all.

A REMINDER

"To the fathers and mothers of the young, so easily moved to excess, we offer a reminder of their responsibility to those placed under their charge. The force of good example is the best teacher, but it should be accompanied by clear directives that the young find unmistakable. Immaturity is no excuse in a situation where the ultimate responsibility lies with the adult population. They are the ones who should be teaching the importance of good citizenship and the demands of the Christian commitment.

"We cannot be reminded too often that this is a moral question on which every person is required to make a decision. The ugly abyss which is now widening between man who happens to be black and man who happens to be white is an ontological abyss. That is to say it has to do with the theological fact of being. It is impossible to be Christian and consciously to violate the being of another person.

"There is nothing abstract about this * * * it is the most concrete fact of our Christian existence. The Christian cannot be a whole person in Christ and, at the same time, hold another human person in violent contempt.

"Violent hostility, whether booing and catcalling and threatening the rights of persons to legal residence, or, even worse, taking part in the frightening insanity of riot * * * these are sins against God and humanity. The Christian cannot commit these transgressions and think he is getting away with it or only acting like the rest of the men.

ABSENCE OF GRACE

"The time for polite talking is done. The racist Christian is a contradiction. The violent Christian places himself in the most terrifying emptiness * * * the absence of grace. In fact, if he is not himself aware of this terror, he has already abandoned himself to an inner life without resource and an outer life without order.

"The obligations of charity are as real as getting up in the morning and eating your breakfast and going to work. They are not the abstract residue of long forgotten penny catechisms. They are universal and cannot be denied. I call upon all men of good will in the community to join hands and hearts against this monstrous evil of racism. It must be erased from our lives, our cities, and our Nation."

This writer cries out in the sacred memory of two immortal Presidents who died fighting for justice and equality—in hallowed memory of Abraham Lincoln and John Fitzgerald Kennedy, martyrs of the ideals of this splendid democratic Nation. Truly, no American shall ever breathe free until every fetid and putrid stigma of racism is removed from the bloodstream of our United States of America.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH OF

HON. FRANK CHELF

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every man in this House of Representatives today shares with me a sense of distinct personal loss and sorrow over the passing away of our esteemed colleague, the Honorable JOHN B. BENNETT.

JOHN was a Member of the House when I was first elected to Congress and having been associated with him in our

daily work here for almost 20 years, I feel I am in a position to speak authoritatively of his many sterling qualities. He was a kind, sympathetic, tolerant, hardworking, honest and intelligent public servant who represented his district effectively here in the Congress and served his country faithfully by his loyalty, his prudence and his courage. He was a stalwart among men—one who stood forthrightly by his ideals and thus made a mammoth contribution to the American way of life.

To the family of this wonderful man, I extend my deeply felt condolences and pray that God will comfort each and every one of them.

Fairplay for Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD C. BRUCE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, concern for the poor is universally admired, and, as the Bible assures us, "Blessed is he who considereth the poor." Conversely, indifference or callous disregard for the unfortunate elicits little popular appeal. A candidate for national office who can be labeled as "antipoor", even despite his private and public record to the contrary, is severely handicapped in winning the confidence and approval of the American people.

Consequently, the August 10 issue of Political Memo From COPE, the newsletter issued by the AFL-CIO's committee on political education, carried a short item of current added significance. Under the heading, "How GOLDWATER Views the Poor," this statement read:

Republican presidential candidate Senator BARRY GOLDWATER has this to say about the unschooled and unskilled, the unemployed and the unlucky: "We are told *** that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. *** The fact is that most people who have no skills have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition."—Speech before Economic Club of New York, January 15, 1964.

Unlike many readers of the COPE memo, I had easy access to the text of the Senator's New York economic speech. Sure enough, the above quote distorted the Senator's position by using the now popular device of quoting out of context. No mention was made by COPE of an earlier qualifying statement in the speech:

I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society.

Missing also was a later qualifying passage concerning inquiry or investigation into conditions surrounding the less fortunate that such inquiry "should not be to condemn anybody but to help and to help effectively."

If the above COPE treatment was an isolated incident, one could perhaps write it off as a case of poor editing. However,

when this general downgrading-the-poor theme is attributed to Senator GOLDWATER in other political circles as well, one begins to wonder where mistakes end and malice begins.

This theme has appeared on TV, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the press. To illustrate, compare this quote by a political columnist appraising the Economic Club speech with excerpts from the speech appearing at the end of my remarks:

Here was the richest audience per capita that the Senator could have located anywhere—outside a Rockefeller family reunion. And for the delectation of this audience, GOLDWATER chose to denounce the poor as a set of lazy fellows, who deserved to be wretched because they lacked the gumption needed to reach the well-upholstered heights inhabited by the members of the Economic Club.

Whether by inadvertence, erroneous judgment, or willful design, disseminating mistaken or dishonest charges is serious. If political confidence men are abroad in our land coveting citizens' votes, the public must be alerted.

The following pertinent excerpts from Senator GOLDWATER's New York Economic Club speech are offered so that: First, the truth may be known; and, second, that those responsible for these misrepresentations be judged as to their reliability and whether they merit our future confidence:

I strongly believe that all people are entitled to an opportunity—let me stress that—to an opportunity to get an education and to earn a living in keeping with the value of their work.

I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society. I believe that those in trouble through their own fault should always have an opportunity to work themselves out of it. But I do not believe that the mere fact of having little money entitles everybody, regardless of circumstance, to be permanently maintained by the taxpayers at an average or comfortable standard of living.

We are told, however, that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. That's like saying that people have big feet because they wear big shoes. The fact is that most people who have no skill, have had no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition.

We have talked of many details in this overall problem. But we are not talking about many principles. Only two, basically, are involved. Enterprise versus regimentation, a society fluid in its opportunity, or a society hardened into a government mold.

Specifically, in a society where the vast majority of people live on a standard that is envied by all other nations, it must be appropriate to inquire whether the attitude or the action of the small group not participating in the general prosperity has anything to do with the situation. The aim of such an investigation should not be to condemn anybody but to help and to help effectively. To do that we must know what is wrong and not assume that big government knows the answer and has the answer.

I would, to further this, call a conference with participation from all of the States to study this problem of poverty and jobs, to pin down the figures, to survey all the solutions and not seek to impose the Federal one.

I would, also, seek to find for the Federal Government more of a role in removing restrictions than in imposing new ones—at every level of the economy.

Making our industry more competitive with foreign industry should have a high priority in that study. I suggest that the Federal Government can find more ways to improve that competitive situation by getting out of industry's hair, than by getting into it. And in this I would include even the Federal role in raising tariffs. That solution is not a real one, it is just a temporary one.

When the above statement is read in total it reveals depth of thought, great compassion for human suffering, and positive determination to meet the problem within the framework of a free system.

Tonkin Action Raises Questions: Answers Needed From Military

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of August 13, 1964:

TONKIN ACTION RAISES QUESTIONS: ANSWERS NEEDED FROM MILITARY

The crisis in the Tonkin Gulf may be over for the time being, but the questions raised in this short but sharp action are pounding for answers.

Why did the Communists so brazenly risk an open attack on U.S. ships? Why were our loss and damages ratio so high? Why did we react with such original surprise and hesitancy? Why were we evidently surprised by accurate and extensive antiaircraft ground fire?

These facts do not necessarily reflect lapses in operations but in concept. They suggest we are not ready for what might come because we hope it won't.

What happened in the Tonkin Gulf itself was minor militarily. Our retaliatory bombing and strafing was a natural reaction, but we agree with Senator BARRY GOLDWATER when he said:

"I must point that it was just that, a response—an incident, not a program or a new policy; a tactical reaction, not a new winning strategy."

In other words, we are back where we started. We have no program for concluding the war in South Vietnam, or for that matter, for conducting it. We can be surprised again tomorrow—and will be.

Beyond that, what? Vietnam is not the big picture; neither can it be considered the main political issue for the coming presidential election campaign.

The issue on which the election must turn is our entire foreign policy in containing the advance of atheistic communism and effecting a means of eventually bringing about its retreat and elimination.

The attacks perhaps served one purpose, and that is in bringing home to more people the realization, as Senator GOLDWATER said, that the war in South Vietnam is being fought under policies that obscure American purposes, confuse its allies and encourage the enemy to prolong the fighting.

We are paying the price of a no-win policy in the cold war, no matter how vehemently administration spokesmen try to deny it. The no-win policy begins in Washington and runs all the way to the Tonkin Gulf.

In Washington, not a single new weapons system has been started in 4 years; bomber forces are being phased out; we are settling for second-best fighter planes, and carrier forces are deliberately being made obsolescent by the denial of nuclear power.

Militarily, flexibility is being sacrificed for a fixed response that demands the unacceptable ultimate, and morally, our purpose is being dissipated by the lure of peaceful co-existence offered by cagy and deceitful enemies.

In the Tonkin Gulf, everything suggests that our equipment was not the best possible; our intelligence was faulty; and combat instructions restrictive and costly in materiel and to military personnel.

World War II attack planes are being used in quantity, for example, in South Vietnam, not to get rid of them, but because they are the only ones available for that kind of a job. On the other hand, some of the most modern arms have gone to the South Vietnamese, before being allocated to our own forces, while the pleas of military men for more go unheeded.

But we did manage to reduce military expenses, remember?

The only voice that has been heard on our military performance in the gulf has been that of Secretary of Defense McNamara, a civilian. He made it clear he was the general in command.

Mr. McNamara also is the general in command of the defense policy that too soon is bound to reduce our military superiority over the Communists to one of parity. Americans, it is becoming more and more apparent, now want to hear directly from their military and naval leaders in the field.

We are tying our hands. The temptations to the enemy, to press and test, seem to be rising.

Panama Canal: 50th Anniversary Focuses National Attention on Interoceanic Canal Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, August 15, 1964, was the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal for traffic. Suitably commemorated in the Canal Zone, the occasion was widely reported in the major press organs of the Nation, among such newsmen as being a special dispatch from Panama published in the August 16, 1964, issue of the New York Times. Thus, for the second time this year, national attention was focused on the Panama Canal, the first having been caused by Red-led Panamanian assaults in January on the Canal Zone.

Many of the indicated articles, though partly historical, attempted to emphasize the necessity for early action toward bringing about increased trans-Isthmian capacity. Both of these aspects of the interoceanic canal problem have been brilliantly and forcefully presented by my able and scholarly colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] in an extraordinary series of ad-

resses in the Congress over a period of 8 years. His addresses and statements on Panama Canal history, interoceanic canal problems, and Caribbean policy questions are an extensive reservoir of reliable information that should be consulted by all serious students of these subjects, especially the problems of increased capacity and proposals for their solution.

To assist those seeking more complete information on the subject than was supplied in necessarily brief newsstories, I shall list seven of Representative Flood's notable addresses as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They are:

"John F. Stevens: Basic Architect of the Panama Canal" (vol. 102, pt. 7 (May 29, 1956), p. 9285).

"Panama Canal Zone: Constitutional Domain of the United States" (vol. 104, pt. 4 (Mar. 26, 1958), pp. 5498-5505).

"Panama Canal: Focus of Power Politics" (vol. 110, No. 42 (Mar. 9, 1964), p. 4535 (temp.)).

"Panama Canal: Formula for Future Canal Policy" (vol. 110, No. 44 (Mar. 11, 1964), pp. 4772-4777 (temp.)).

"Under Two Flags: Blunders, Confusion and Chaos at Panama" (vol. 110, No. 89 (May 5, 1964), pp. 9718-9725 (temp.)).

"Panama Canal and the Milton Eisenhower Paper" (vol. 110, No. 102 (May 21, 1964), pp. 11308-11311).

"Caribbean Crisis: Continuing Storm Signs Demand Action Against Further Perils" (vol. 110, No. 157 (Aug. 12, 1964), pp. 18652-18656 (temp.)).

The crucial canal issues, as developed at length by Representative Flood and which must be met by our Government, are:

First. The paramount question of maintaining undiluted U.S. sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

Second. The major increase of capacity and operational efficiency of the existing Panama Canal through the modification of the suspended third locks project (53 Stat. 1409) to provide a summit level lake anchorage in the Pacific end of the canal to correspond with the summit lake anchorage at Gatun, on which construction some \$75 million was expended before it was suspended in May 1942.

Third. The construction of a new canal at Panama, Nicaragua, or elsewhere, to replace or supplement the present canal.

To provide the independent, broadly based, and wholly American type of inquiry that the interoceanic canal policy problems indispensably require, my distinguished colleagues, Representatives HOSMER of California, THOMPSON of Texas, FLOOD, and myself, have introduced identical measures to create a predominantly civilian commission of 11 members to be composed of the best qualified men that our country can muster. Three members of this commission would be from the combatant branches of the armed services and eight from civil life, with one of the latter as chairman. Such body should be created and put to work on the gravely important policy questions involved.

As previously indicated, the extensive press coverage of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal has served a constructive purpose. It has aroused national interest in the canal question, served to renew the rightful pride of our people in one of our country's greatest achievements, and stated some of the issues involved. With the greater understanding provided by Representative Flood's monumental work of clarification, these newsmen can be appraised more realistically.

The indicated New York Times special dispatch from Panama, which presents little that is new, follows:

PANAMA CANAL, AT 50, STILL AWES ENGINEERS—EXCAVATION FULFILLED DREAM BUT BEGAN A CONTROVERSY

PANAMA.—The Panama Canal was one of the engineering wonders of the world when it was opened to international sea commerce 50 years ago today. It still is.

Through a series of locks leading up to Gatun Lake, vessels weighing tens of thousands of tons are lifted 85 feet, sail through the lake and then descend to sea level. It is the largest such operation in the world.

The Panama Canal took 10 years to build and cost \$885 million. Today, estimates are that it would cost at least 10 times as much. The canal cuts through the Isthmus of Panama at one of the narrowest points, 50-miles long from deep water to deep water. Cristóbal is the port on the Caribbean side, Balboa, the port on the Pacific side in the Gulf of Panama.

In the fiscal year ended last June 30, a total of 12,138 vessels made the transit, paying \$62.3 million in tolls.

A waterway across the isthmus has long been dreamed of. A crude canal was dug by hand in 1788 connecting the headwaters of two rivers in the Colombian hills not far from a possible sea-level route that has been studied recently. Piraguas, small dugout canoes, were used to transport cargo from ships ascending from the Caribbean side to those from the Pacific. It was called the Raspadura Cana.

CENTURIES OF CROSSINGS

Through the years from the Spaniards' 16th-century settlements, cargo was unloaded on one side of the isthmus, carried across on donkeyback and reloaded on the other side. Many of the California Forty-Niners made the transit between oceans by the isthmus route.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was the catalyst that led to the American decision to build a canal. The U.S. acquisition of the Philippines and Guam as a consequence of that war had made Americans conscious of the need for a stronger Navy.

Before 1898, the Navy had been divided between the two oceans. The dash of the battleship *Oregon* around Cape Horn that year to join the ships blockading the Spanish squadron in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba emphasized the need for a shorter route.

Before 1904 two starts had been made by an international group organized by the Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had headed the syndicate that dug the sea-level Suez Canal. The first, at the isthmus, organized in 1880, failed after 9 years effort and the second organized in 1894, failed 5 years later.

THE PANAMA REBELLION

The United States, meanwhile, had been considering a canal across Nicaragua and Costa Rica. When the French company gave up its efforts, the United States bought its equipment and goodwill for \$40 million and abandoned the Nicaragua plan.

When the Government of Colombia, of which country the region of the Isthmus of Panama was then a province, failed to approve a treaty for the canal already adopted by the U.S. Senate, the residents of Panama, reported to have been financed and known to have been encouraged by the United States, revolted.

The people of the isthmus had made several previous attempts to win their freedom from Colombian rule. This time they were successful. The revolt was declared on November 3, 1903.

On November 6, the new Panama Government was recognized by Washington, which then sent the cruiser *Nashville* and a complement of marines to bar landings of Colombian troops. On November 18, for a payment of \$10 million and a promise of \$250,000 a year the new Republic of Panama granted the United States the use of land for the canal, surrendering sovereignty and all control over a strip 5 miles wide on either side of the axis of the projected canal. It includes 553 square miles of land and water and in 1960 had a population of 41,684.

ARMY TOOK JOB OVER

An American commission was formed to dig the canal. When it proved ineffective, President Theodore Roosevelt turned over the job to the Army Corps of Engineers.

The canal and the zone remain under their jurisdiction to this day.

Maj. Gen. George Washington Goethals was the American engineer in charge, and he became a national hero on successful completion of the canal in 1914. A bridge connecting Staten Island with the New Jersey shore near Elizabeth is named for him. He died in 1928.

The treaty with Panama has been revised twice since its adoption in 1904. The principal revision each time has concerned the payment to Panama. In a 1936 revision, this was raised to \$450,000 a year and in 1955 to \$1,930,000 yearly, which is the amount paid today. Also, in 1921 the United States paid Colombia \$25 million for a waiver of all claims against the canal.

The yearly payment to Panama is only a small part of the income flowing into the Panamanian economy from canal sources each year. Estimates of the total benefits range from \$80 million to \$90 million. The canal tolls have remained substantially the same since the waterway was opened. It long has been a Panamanian argument that the tolls should be increased.

ISSUE HEATED IN PANAMA

There has been agitation in Panama for many years and considerable discussion in the United States in recent times on questions of sovereignty in the Canal Zone and international control of the canal itself. Panamanian frustration broke last January into open rioting that resulted in four U.S. soldiers and 21 Panamanians killed and 500 people injured.

The matter of a sea-level canal, either at some other site on the Isthmus or in Nicaragua, has been revived in recent debate. An argument is that the Panama Canal locks are vulnerable to sabotage and the locks are too narrow for the larger U.S. Navy ships, especially the new attack aircraft carriers, the capital ships of today. Size also bars today's giant 100,000-ton oil tankers.

France has expressed interest in promoting a new canal across the Isthmus and a group from the Panama Chamber of Commerce recently said private investors in Tokyo had also shown a considerable interest in such a venture.

While the present canal zone treaty remains in force, the canal will stand for Panamanians as a symbol of Yankee imperialism. No Panamanian politician dares see it otherwise.

Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the *Wall Street Journal* of Wednesday, August 19, has a detailed and well-written account of Radio Free Europe and other broadcasting stations in Europe, done by Journal staff reporter Ray Vicker. I have long been an enthusiastic supporter of Radio Free Europe and its outstanding work, and so am delighted to be able to bring the article to the attention of my colleagues here in the Congress.

The article follows:

RADIO TO THE REDS: GERMAN-BASED STATIONS WIN AN AVID AUDIENCE INSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC—RADIO LIBERTY, RIAS, RADIO FREE EUROPE ALSO COLLECT RED NEWS FOR FREE WORLD—"FRITZ FREEDOM" ON THE AIR

(By Ray Vicker)

MUNICH.—A juicy government scandal has tongues wagging in Poland. Seems some high Communist bureaucrats connived with the Warsaw City Association of Food Products Enterprises to inject water into meat. This increased the weight of the meat—and the illegal profits of its sellers—by 20 percent.

Such conversational treats are rare for citizens of a Communist country. Red papers and radio stations rarely publicize the misdeeds of party functionaries—and they didn't this time. But the scandal was broken by Radio Free Europe, one of three German-based nonprofit stations broadcasting to the Soviet bloc. Now, says Michael Gamarnikow, an RFE Polish specialist, the meat scandal has become "Poland's Bobby Baker case."

Such broadcasting to Red bloc citizens of news they can't get from their Red rulers is the main task of RFE and its sister stations. The latter are Radio Liberty, which like RFE is based in Munich, and RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) of West Berlin. RIAS is run by the U.S. Information Agency and concentrates on broadcasts to East Germany; Radio Liberty is affiliated with the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., a private organization, and concentrates on broadcasts to Russia. RFE, the biggest of the three, is supported by funds raised in the United States and elsewhere by Radio Free Europe broadcasts in local languages to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

BREAKING THROUGH JAMMING

Over the years, the stations have performed their task well enough to win the lasting loyalty of millions of bloc residents—and the hearty hatred of their Red rulers. While RFE's current annual budget is only \$12 million, the Reds have spent up to \$185 million a year trying to jam its broadcasts, and those of its sister stations. Such jamming is now on the wane in some countries (Russia has switched its jamming emphasis from Western to Red Chinese broadcasts) but in others it's still intensive.

Still, the broadcasts get through. "Our transmitters are so powerful that Communists have never been able to crowd us out," says Robert L. Lochner, director of RIAS. In indirect confirmation, Klaus Warnke, a member of East Germany's Communist central committee, recently complained of the effects of RIAS' advice to shoppers on what consumer-goods shortages were developing: "When RIAS trumpets 'hoard coffee,' some people do it. When RIAS says 'buy salt' they

hoard it by the hundredweight. If RIAS says that ink is going to get scarce, they'd like to buy ink by the barrel."

Indeed, the stations have been so successful that they've evolved into something more than communications media. To get material for broadcasts they analyze hundreds of obscure Communist publications, monitor Red broadcasts and interview refugees and travelers from behind the Iron Curtain—and do it so thoroughly that they've become major sources of information for the free world about what's going on in the Soviet bloc.

SOME STATION "FIRSTS"

On several occasions, in fact, the stations have broken major stories about Communist developments, not only to their listeners in the Red countries, but to the rest of the world as well. Radio Liberty claims a "first" in publicizing many details of Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 de-Stalinization program. RFE first spotlighted Rumania's rebellion against Russian attempts to slow its industrialization and keep it a farming and oil-producing country. RIAS once had details of an East German currency reform before the East German Reds announced it.

The stations at times also help make cold war news, as well as reporting it. The status of RIAS has been a sticking point in sporadic East-West talks about Berlin; Communists demand that the station be closed as part of any general Berlin settlement. Reds, and even some Westerners, also have blamed RFE for helping to incite the bloody and unsuccessful anti-Communist Hungarian revolt of 1956; RFE vehemently denies the charge and says it tries to promote liberalization of Communists regimes, not revolution against them.

There is no doubt the stations have been able to influence the course of events in the Red empire to some extent. When Robert Kennedy visited Poland last spring, the Communist Government deemphasized the trip, scarcely mentioning it in strictly controlled news media. Yet Mr. Kennedy was mobbed by friendly Poles wherever he went, to the government's great embarrassment.

The apparent reason: Four days before Mr. Kennedy's arrival, RFE started broadcasting details of his trip, and while it was on gave Poles a daily report on his itinerary, and on the enthusiastic reception he had received the day before. (In one broadcast it tossed in a joke circulated around Warsaw cafes that the Attorney General, "well known as an undaunted hunter of crimes and criminals," had come to Poland "to get to the bottom of the notorious meat affair.")

More importantly, when RFE began broadcasting fuller details of Rumania's economic defiance of Moscow than the Rumanian Government had given, Rumania suddenly stopped jamming the broadcasts. Apparently the government wanted its citizens to know the full details of its independence, but also wanted to be able to tell Moscow with a straight face that it had done nothing itself to whip up anti-Russian feeling among its people.

However that may be, Rumanian nationalism has increased steadily, and is now giving Mr. Khrushchev one of his biggest headaches. RFE has broadcast details of the growing split, not only to Rumania but to the rest of the bloc, in the hope that Rumania's example will lead to a similar loosening of Moscow control in the other countries.

"We have broken the monopoly which Communist regimes have tried to impose on their peoples," sums up C. Rodney Smith, RFE's director. "The scope and impact of our programs may help prevent Communists from obtaining complete control over the minds and actions of their captive citizens."

How do the stations produce this impact? Only Radio Liberty devotes its entire broadcast time to news and commentary; RIAS